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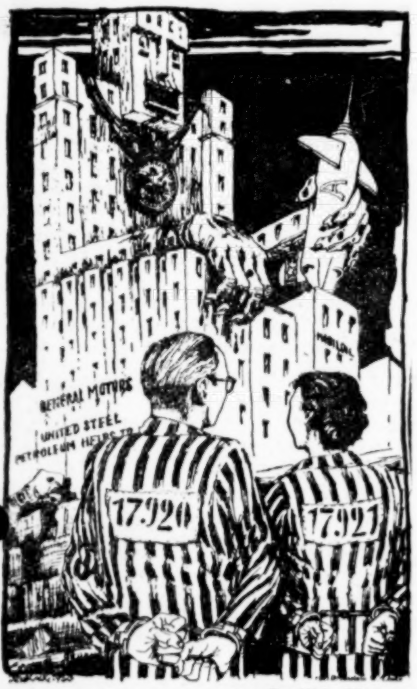
THE LAW

NEW YORK EDITION

Rosenberg fight goes on despite 3rd Court blow

By John T. McManus

WITHOUT any acknowledgement of the pleas for mercy and justice in the Rosenberg Case by millions of people throughout America and the whole world—joined in by the Pope and hundreds of other eminent world figures in religion, science, the law and the humanities—the Supreme Court of the United Sates last week refused for a third time to review the first death sentences in American history for the alleged crime of conspiracy to commit espionage. The Pope's plea for clemency was withheld from both Presidents Truman and Eisenhower by the Dept. of Justice but was called to public attention by the Papal Nuncio in Washington after President Eisenhower had denied executive clemency on Feb. 11.



Szpilki, Warsaw

A Polish view of the Rosenberg Case

This apparent official U.S. determination to kill two young American parents of Jewish extraction, who have always protested their innocence, follows a trial in which repeated perjury has been both proved and admitted, and conviction by a jury from which Jews were excluded. It cannot escape comparison throughout the world with the freeing of William Oatis by Czechoslovakia after his confession and conviction in 1951 as a spy in U.S. employ.

STAY IS VACATED: Immediately following the Supreme Court decision, Rosenberg attorneys Emanuel H. Bloch and John F. Finerty applied to Chief Justice Vinson for a stay of execution of the death sentences pending the filing of a motion for a re-hearing by the Supreme Court, but the stay was refused after an all-day wait in Washington. The defense has 15 days to move for a re-hearing. The Court also vacated the existing stay, clearing the way for a quick new execution date.

On May 27 defense attorneys filed two actions in lower Federal courts, both designed to bring the case before the Supreme Court again on further grounds in the event of denial in the lower courts and meanwhile to win a new stay of execution.

THE TWO ACTIONS: One action, in the N.Y. Federal district court, challenged the right of Judge Irving Kaufman to sentence the Rosenbergs to death on the contention that the crime alleged against them carried a maximum penalty of 20 years imprisonment.

The second action, in the Circuit Court of Appeals, seeks an order directing Judge Kaufman to reconsider his rejection of an appeal for reduction of sentence without reference to certain factors in his denial held to be illegal. These factors are (1) that the death sentence was levied to coerce a confession from the Rosenbergs, who never confessed; (2) that the death sentence was imposed because the judge said the Rosenbergs might still hold to certain ideas if they ever went free (Kaufman did not contend that they might commit espionage, only that their political ideas might be unchanged); (3) that he sentenced them as "traitors" and called their alleged crime "treason" although the charge against them was "conspiracy to commit espionage" and the Circuit Court has already pointed out that they were not tried or convicted for treason; (4) that Kaufman declared their intention in the alleged crime was to "injure the United States," whereas the actual charge was intention to "advantage" another power. (The Soviet Union was an ally at the time of the alleged conspiracy.)

Both new actions were returnable for argument on Monday, June 1.

DOUGLAS DISSENTS: Despite the deep disappointment evidenced throughout the world over the Supreme Court's third rejection, one aspect of the decision gave new heart to those already working for executive clemency

(Continued on Page 3)

CEDRIC BELFRAGE WRITES FROM ELLIS ISLAND:

Not for sale!

ELLIS ISLAND, N. Y.

PERHAPS those on the outside would like to know how the talk goes on Ellis Island, at the fence in the yard dividing some groups of the encaged from others according to the circumstances in which their lives were dammed up here.

We talk of the intimidation in the land. We, who are sentenced only to three bad meals a day and frustration without visible end, talk of that. But someone said today:

"Do you remember just 20 years ago, when at least hundreds of thousands of Germans offered or gave their utmost in blood and agony to resist the new barbarism—and how we said: 'The Germans gave in because they have no guts'? The German people were physically bullied and tortured into line; our people have been hoaxed into line. America's martyrs for decency are just a handful; political prisoners are not even abused. And yet tens of millions of New Dealers have run for cover in sheer funk, our great protestant tradition is reduced to hash—not one percent of us dare say what we think, fight for a brother in trouble, even sign a petition for the redress of our own grievances. We have suddenly become the most cowardly and gullible people on earth."

And the man who said this looked in anger, almost in shame, at his well-fleshed body tanning in the May sunshine.

ANOTHER of the group, a distinguished Englishman, formerly a canon of the Anglican church, spoke of the hearing at which he had just been barred from entering America to speak about peace:

"You know—when that hearing man summed up why I could not be admitted, he said, 'You are a man who puts his conscience above the law.' Extraordinary, really!"

Someone else said: "Well, he put his finger on it. Don't you see that we who are here for a variety of 'dangerous thoughts' are all guilty of the same essential crime? We have our different kinds of convictions, and we cannot be bought. We have but to ask the market price for our conscience, and we would be freed immediately if we paid it."

"But why are there not more of us?" said another. "What has happened in America? Must every man, woman and child be for sale before the government will be satisfied?"

I THOUGHT of the millions of good American folk who walk not in cages but in darkness outside, shiver at the shadow of death, and wonder what can be done. It would be good if they could hear the dilemma of all men with a conscience expressed in this place in these simple terms. But will not conscience make its voice heard positively within them before they have to hear it in a cage?

Will not that voice cause the American tradition to bloom again in its vigorous beauty, and stir the people to fight as their ancestors fought for their brothers' and sisters' rights—their rights not to say what everyone else already seems to believe, but to oppose tyranny in their own fashion? As their ancestors fought for John Peter Zenger's right to expose corruption, for the persecuted Jeffersonians' right to oppose the Alien and Sedition Laws, for the abolitionists' right to oppose the Fugitive Slave Act.

Or is the voice to be drowned beneath the same old wives' tales of "foreign agents" which almost capsized the good ship America when Jefferson led the fight to keep her on her course? Is it only to be heard stillborn and impotent from those who mock their own timid efforts by incantations, before they give it utterance, of hatred for a "foreign ideology" which is as misrepresented as it is irrelevant?

Will the people solemnly accept the humbug "freedom of the press" debate that is now going on, stemming from McCarthy's inquisition of New York **Post** editor Wechsler, without even asking: Freedom to do what? Will they not take note of the fact that the debate "rages" between publications wedded every one to hate and lies, whose only difference is that they have sold out truth under variously-shaded masks of respectability? Will they not perceive that the price all publications must pay for profitability, in a time of the temporary dominion of evil, is essentially the same—whatever be the proportions of prejudice-appeal, lust-appeal and violence-appeal in the sell-out mixture?

WILL THEY not perceive that the GUARDIAN in the person of its editor—and the others with "dangerous thoughts" on Ellis Island, and elsewhere—are caged because they are not for sale, because their conscience, to them, IS the law?

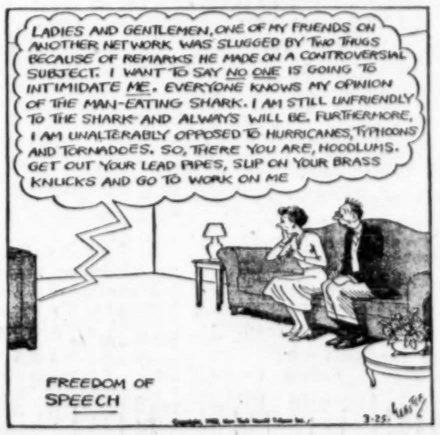
And do I hear down the night breeze from the direction of the Statue of Liberty the ghosts of Hitler's army of victims, who died by slow torture rather than sell their consciences, crying out:

"What are you Americans scared of?"

Cedric Belfrage

Belfrage bail in balance; protest over arrest grows

AT GUARDIAN's press time Federal District Judge Edward Weinfeld took under advisement the question of bail for editor Cedric Belfrage held on Ellis Island since May 15. He weighed these arguments presented May 27 in his Foley Sq. courtroom:


LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, ONE OF MY FRIENDS ON ANOTHER NETWORK WAS SLUGGED BY TWO THUGS BECAUSE OF REMARKS HE MADE ON A CONTROVERSIAL SUBJECT. I WANT TO SAY NO ONE IS GOING TO INTIMIDATE ME. EVERYONE KNOWS MY OPINION OF THE MAN-EATING SHARK. I AM STILL UNFRIENDLY TO THE SHARK AND ALWAYS WILL BE. FURTHERMORE, I AM UNALTERABLY OPPOSED TO HURRICANES, TYPHOONS AND TORNADOES. SO, THERE YOU ARE, HOODLUMS. GET OUT YOUR LEAD PIPES, SLIP ON YOUR BRASS KNUCKS AND GO TO WORK ON ME
FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Webster in N.Y. Herald Tribune

Belfrage's attorneys, Mrs. Blanch Freedman and Nathan Dambroff, described the Dept. of Immigration's complaint as a "formula" followed in all such political deportation proceedings, stating but not proving that Belfrage was and is a Communist, deportable under the McCarran Act, offering no bill of particulars.

FANTASTIC HYSTERIA: Mrs. Freedman traced Belfrage's early application for citizenship in 1937, showed how he was forced to interrupt his five years' residency requirement in order to undertake a World War II assignment in Europe under British-U.S. orders in SHAEF (Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces). She told how Belfrage had answered all questions put to him exhaustively by the FBI and a Federal Grand Jury, asked what

(Continued on Page 3)

Have YOU pledged?

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Buck-of-the-Month

Sustaining Fund for 1953

I pledge ☐ $1 every month for the rest of 1953.
☐ $....

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ADDRESS ....
CITY............................ ZONE...... STATE...........

The GUARDIAN will send you a monthly reminder and a postage-paid reply envelope for your convenience.

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Vol. 5, No. 32 178 JUNE 1, 1953

"Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter."—ISAIAH.

REPORT TO READERS

A bread-and-butter letter

MORE THAN 600 new "Buck of the Month" pledgers have been added to the 1,500 already pledging as we go to press with this June 1 issue. The GUARDIAN Sustaining Fund had set a goal of 1,000 additional pledges for May, and the mail was still arriving unslackened at deadline time.

The campaign will continue through June, with the goal of enlarging the pledging group to at least 2,500 individuals for the remaining six months of 1953.

A pledge is easy to make—the pledge form is across the page in the top left corner—and we on our part promise to make the payment of all pledges painless and pleasant.

EARLY IN JUNE you'll get a letter from the Editor which will include a bit of magic we have discovered for the simple, easy fulfillment of all pledges—not only to the GUARDIAN but to other good causes you like to save for.

So pledge now—please—then watch for the mailman with our June letter and the GUARDIAN's latest bit of magic!

●

THIS WEEK'S Report to Readers would not be complete without a bread-and-butter note to the readers of Syracuse, Ann Arbor, Flint and Detroit for their hospitality and generosity to the GUARDIAN and its General Manager on tour during the last fortnight.

These folks played host to a half dozen meetings—attended by GUARDIAN readers and friends from many nearby communities as well—at which we got the opportunity to tell our "behind the news" story and all present had the chance to throw questions and make suggestions.

In each case, a committee of "spark plug" readers took on the continuing job of chasing down renewals, bringing in new readers and perhaps arranging future meetings to which GUARDIAN staff members may be invited.

It does us good, here, to get out of the Walled City of Gotham and meet the people every so often, so let's have an invitation from your community.

We love to travel—and the cooking is invariably terrific!

—THE EDITORS

How crazy can you get dept.

Life in Hollywood Div.

Roberta Haynes took the bra she wore for the test at Columbia and mounted it in gold for bookends.

Sheila Graham
in **Hollywood Variety.**

One-year free sub to winer of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Frances Nelson, Hollywood, Calif.

THE MAIL BAG

Belfrage's detention

HORNBY IS., B. C., CANADA

We are shocked and disgusted by this latest proof of open fascist thought-control in a country which dares to preach the doctrines of free speech to the outside world while denying it at home.

We have unbounded admiration for all of you on the GUARDIAN who give us week after week such a first rate paper. You must feel shattered at losing the head of your team and so do we. But please carry on. Now more than ever we need the GUARDIAN's facts, analyses and call to action.

I write in anger, having seen too much of the destruction of decency, humanity and integrity by such fascist vermin in the 1930's. McCarthy should remember what happened, only a few years after the height of his power, to the rat Goebbels. But where are the many American liberals who then so derided the German people for their acceptance of fascism? Can it be that they still have the illusion that silence will buy them off from the Great Purge? **Hilary Brown**

●

RIVERSIDE, CALIF.

My reaction to the arrest of Cedric Belfrage is to double my monthly pledge to the GUARDIAN Sustaining Fund. Hereafter make mine $2 instead of $1, and enclosed is the extra dollar for May.

Rachel Fosset

●

HARTFORD, CONN.

Enclosed find my monthly pledge. It is really more than I can afford but after reading of the persecution of Belfrage I count it a privilege here "his Cross to bear," as the old hymn goes that we used to sing in Christian Endeavor.

Donald Wiley

●

CHEVY CHASE, MD.

Enclosed please find $20 as my starter toward the defense. You're worth all we can spare, and we'd better all get busy and spare it, before we suddenly find it's too late.

J. R. B., Phoenix, Ariz., has a wonderful idea. Let's put that 3c a day into support of our paper, instead of support for soda pop and cigarette companies!

Opal F. Kracek

●

BRISBANE, CALIF.

Am enclosing my check for $100 to help start things. Hope the money is rolling in. The refusal to grant bail is intended, of course, to put the paper out of the running. Don't imagine that will succeed.

One of the charges, I notice, is that our editor was appointed by SHAEF to denazify the German press, and did it. Anti-Nazi tactics have become a crime over here, it seems. **Louise Harding Horr**

●

MOBERLEY, MO.

I want to express my dismay at the action against Belfrage. I violently disagree with the GUARDIAN on many things, but you show that respect for all opinions which is the basis of Anglo-Saxon liberalism and freedom.

It is plain that the extreme right isn't satisfied even with Dulles and Eisenhower. Sen McCarthy has intervened in foreign policy and demands reckoning from foreign leaders in a voice usually associated with absolute rulers of nations. The idea that he would become our "Head of State" is no longer fantastic. It will become true unless the American Left can unite to stop him.

(Rev.) David A. Janes

●

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Cheers for Belfrage's courageous stand against McCarthy. It was inspiring! **Gilbert Lieberman**

●

EMIGRANT, MONT.

The attack on Cedric Belfrage is just another step in the suppression of the truth. A thought for today: Nero fiddled; Ike likes golf.

Claude Hookham

●

MIAMI, FLA.

The vicious vindictiveness of the inquisitors in Foley Square—small-minded men who are frightened and unable to understand a person of the stature of Mr. Belfrage!

Lillian E. Reiner

The name is Paine

MODESTO, CALIF.

I received my first issue of the GUARDIAN last week and since then I have been burning—with a flame of revulsion and indignation. It would seem that our so-called "free press" do not choose to print the truth about certain items of news—truth which might prove to be detrimental to powerful political and economic interests if publicized.

It is extremely gratifiyng to find that there is at least one paper in these U. S. courageous enough to delve into and print the whole unexpurgated truth about such matters as the infamous Rosenberg Case.

Please accept the enclosed contribution of $50 with best wishes for you to keep up the good work. I am sorry I can't send more, but my son has been jailed in the State of Washington for asserting his rights in the fascist police state there, and I need all spare cash to fight this case. **Jos. V. Paine**

He's no caddy

TULGEY WOOD, CALIF.

A President we could use. A golfer we need like a 19th hole in the head.

If there were less golf on Ike's mind, perhaps there would be less of a gulf between Ike and Malenkov.

Personally, I'm teed off.

Mark Tuttle

The hated war

————, ALABAMA

I secured the two subscribers in this city and I feel sure they will continue to subscribe. . . . My son is in Korea and I have joined the "Save Our Sons" peace committee started in Illinois. I have had no difficulty getting signatures. I believe this is the most hated war—or should I say police action—we have ever had. **M. A. C.**

Knock-out of a show

NEW YORK, N. Y.

At the West Point chapel, above the pulpit, once hung a fine allegorical picture painted by Weir. It portrays a woman, representative of Peace, her hand extending an Olive Branch. The story is related that once during services a dove flew into the church, knocked itself out repeatedly attempting to alight on the branch.

Reports from Panmunjom would indicate that Gen. Harrison has borrowed this marvelous picture from his alma mater and is stage-managing a repeat performance with a road show.

Lawrence Gellert

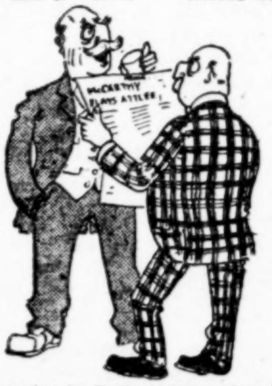
Dollars vs. morality

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The recent burst of harsh words in Britain and over here was not a sudden flare-up of tempers. Antagonisms and imperialistic rivalries have been accumulating for some time.

Today in several other countries resentment, suspicion and anger mount against the power-drunk Lords of the Dollar and brandishers of the atom bomb hell-bent on laying down the law for everybody everywhere as they please.

Here at home the witch-hunters are having a field day for their incredible and outrageous behavior. And why not? The President, Congress and the Department of Justice don't dare call for a halt to what they are doing and plan to do. What a shameful exhibition of crass hypocrisy of those in authority who day in and day out profess devotion to the cause of justice and freedom! **Wilbur Shea**



Lancaster in Daily Express, London
"I know I've always told everyone that Attlee's a red but that doesn't give any tuppeny-ha-penny Senator the right to say so!"

Natural destiny

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

I suppose this 20th Century version of theocratic feudalism with its characteristic pattern of inquisition and similar repressive measures is the natural destiny of a watered down democracy supported by an uninformed, misinformed, politically immature electorate. The effectiveness of the GUARDIAN as an antidote can be measured by the virulence of the insane attack on its editors.

John Fulton

Plunk in the bottle

CALDWELL, N. J.

Lately the price of liquid skim milk rose from 16c to 20c per quart and so I am using the powdered dry—one brand of which costs 6½c per quart. Each time I make a fresh quart a dime goes in an empty milk bottle. It is out of this money I feel I can spare my monthly buck. **D. L. Pertz**

They're after labor

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

You are so right when you say that it is labor the Un-American Committee is after. Alas that the so-called labor leaders could not see and hold fast to the gains, paid for in such terrific struggles and suffering by the working people and their friends.

Barbara Nestor

Laundering

MUSKEGON, MICH.

I see some of our boys returning from POW camps have their "brains washed." In order to become good Americans once more their brains will have to be muddied up again. Our indoctrinators will find that the mud won't stick to them quite so readily this second time.

I think that anyone who has gone through our Big Business-dominated public or parochial schools needs to have his brains washed. I would like to suggest that the brains of all American voters be sent to the Far East for a first class Chinese laundering. They should at least learn that it is the white man who has been kicking the Chinese around in their own country for 100 years and more, not vice versa. **J. R. S.**

The "brain-washed"

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

The "brain-washing" to which the American prisoners of war are being subjected, on being returned to this country, is a euphemism for the most sinister route to fascism yet taken by those in the driver's seat of the U. S. Is it not gruesomely reminiscent of the Hitler claim that opposition to his ideas was a mental disease!

Beyond the least doubt, the Administration will next try to get away with the permanent jailing of civilians "for the public safety," with rights of trial completely abolished.

It is imperative that organizations immediately start a drive for the full release of our soldiers from the phony mental wards. A new organization should be formed to give impetus to the drive. This is a crucial issue. **J. J. V.**

Pee-yoo!

BURLINGTON, VT.

Heard too often over ABC Network, a plug for Embassy cigarettes: ". . . an instinct for something distinctive, a distinctly different . . . instinctively. . . ." Well! There were so many stinks that it was impossible to remember it verbatim.

I heard it again! "You'll make it instinctive to buy the distinctive, distinctively mild Embassy."

I still say it stinks and I wonder how many hundred dollars went to the advertising jerk that thought it up! **Helen H. MacMartin**

Steaks from Heaven

SUN VALLEY, CALIF.

Having incinerated, pulverized and obliterated the northern one-half of Korea in a manner and scope unparallelled in history, the U. S. military has the audacity to criticize the North Koreans because the food, transport, medical facilities and attitude they presented to American prisoners were allegedly not all sweetness and light.

If our boys in the wild blue yonder had dropped more steaks and potatoes, more vitamins and penicillin, and less jellied gasoline fire bombs, the food, medical care and transport would have been better for EVERYONE, including American prisoners. **Thor d'Pardee**

Take once a week

EXCELLO, MO.

The GUARDIAN is "the best weekly antidote for the daily dose of poison from the contaminated press." This slogan is printed regularly in my newsletter, **The Peace Appeal** (sample copies 5c).

John L. Widner

Bail for Belfrage in the balance

(Continued from Page 1)

had happened on May 15 to warrant action. On May 14 Sen. Joseph McCarthy's subcommittee on government operations had threatened deportation, demanded action from the Immigration Dept. when Belfrage took his stand on the Fifth Amendment and declined to answer the committee's questions. Mrs. Freedman charged that the Immigration Dept.'s complaint was drafted in "fantastic and slightly hysterical" language that it offered "no record, no hearing, no evidence, no proof." She warned:

> "There is a way of so employing language that it gives an illusion of a fact."

QUESTION OF SALT: Attorney Dambroff, who had accompanied Belfrage at hearings before the House Comm. on Un-American Activities and the McCarthy committee, said that when a committee witness is warned that "friendly" witnesses have testified against him, "any lawyer worth his salt" would advise him to stand on the Fifth rather than face perjury action in a time of the informer.

U.S. Asst. Atty. Gen. Wm. Sexton's argument was brief and general: Belfrage had not "cooperated"; Atty. Gen. Brownell charges Belfrage with membership in the Communist Party; only Brownell can decide whether or not to give bail; he has not abused his discretion.

Judge Weinfeld asked Sexton:

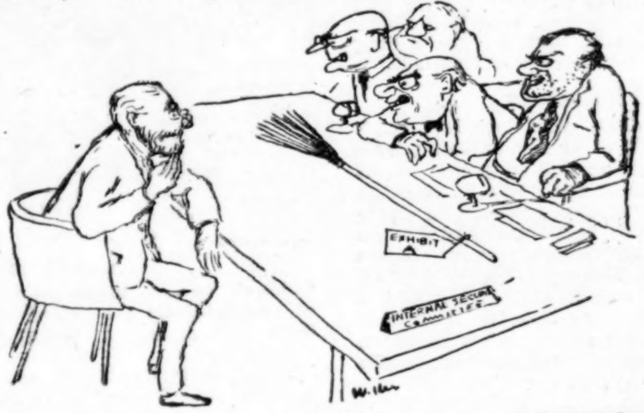
> "What information did the Dept. of Immigration have on May 15, 1953, [when Belfrage was arrested] that it did not have prior to that date?"

Sexton answered: "I don't know."

It was a government refrain voiced often in an earlier hearing.

KNOW-NOTHING: There was a preliminary to last week's hearing: on May 21, Belfrage was brought into Judge Weinfeld's court from Ellis Island for the habeas corpus proceedings. The U.S. Attorney asked for a postponement. Counsel Dambroff objected, said Belfrage had been under investigation by the Immigration Dept. for three years—ample time for them to prepare its case.

Judge Weinfeld asked Sexton why he wanted a delay. Said Sexton: "Your Honor, I don't know what this case is all about." Weinfeld, a composed man with measured speech, raised his eyebrows and said: "Don't you think it is your business to find out?" Sexton fidgeted: "Sometimes it's hard to get information," he said. The Judge suggested that he make a phone call; Sexton demurred, and the Judge finally granted the stay.



Drawing by Walter Her

"Do you deny that these are your fingerprints on the broom, Professor?"

SUPPORT POURS IN: Belfrage seemed in good spirits, and there was reason. A deluge of mail was reaching him on Ellis Island. From Kennewick, Wash.; Portland, Ore.; Detroit, Brooklyn, S. Norwalk, Conn.; Los Angeles, Providence, R.I.; San Francisco, Guadalajara, Mexico, came messages of courage and friendship. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois wrote:

> "I am beginning to feel that unless I get in jail very soon I have not been doing my duty toward my nation and my times."

A GUARDIAN Paris correspondent wrote:

> "On May 16 practically all Parisian dailies printed the news about Belfrage and James Aronson. The general trend was sympathetic. This certainly has not served McCarthyism here, coming just after the insults to Great Britain and people here. Even comfortable bourgeois liberals had the impression that the attack against Belfrage was linked to the attack on Attlee and Churchill."

NEWS IN ENGLAND: The British press continued to display the news prominently. There were requests for byline articles from Belfrage in the big London dailes and the magazines. A newspaper in Israel asked for an article. The story was featured in the press of Italy and Ceylon, where a visit by Belfrage over 20 years ago was recalled. From a big peace conference in Manchester, England, last week came this cable, signed by Gordon Schaffer, Ann George, Monica Felton, J. D. Bernal, D. N. Pritt and others:

> "Delegates Manchester send you greetings. Appreciate GUARDIAN struggle for friendship of all peoples. We are proud of you."

And from London came this message:

> "We English writers express admiration your courageous stand. Always welcome home." (Signed) Anthony Adams, Frank Carpenter, John Cousins, Douglas Goldring, Florence James, Doris Lessing, Penning Roswell, John St. John.

WHAT TO DO: The Belfrage Fight-Back Fund was swelled with the dollar bills of people who could hardly afford to give. The letters accompanying the contributions indicated the clearest understanding on the part of the givers. All asked what they could do. These are some things:

- Write to Atty. Gen. Brownell, Justice Dept., Washington, D.C., insisting that Belfrage be released on bail on the ground that his detention is a gross violation of freedom of the press and human liberty.
- Write letters to your local papers asking them to print the facts in the case and stressing the infringement on freedom of the press.
- Build the GUARDIAN as the best defense against repetition of such events as the arrest of Belfrage.

(See Fight-Back Bulletin, below)

Other foreign-born editors under attack

THE American Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born last week supported the fight for GUARDIAN editor Cedric Belfrage, who went into his second week on Ellis Island without bail under deportation proceedings. Belfrage wasn't the only target, it said; it listed the following editors, mostly of the foreign-language press, also threatened with deportation under the McCarran-Walter law:

Paul Juditch and Moses Resnikoff, **Morning Freiheit**; Vincent Andrulis and Leon Prusekis of the Lithuanian daily **Vilnis**; Michael Nukk of the Estonian **Vus Ulm**; Knut Heikkinen of the Finnish daily **Tyomis Eteepain**; Diamond Kimm of **Korean Independence**; George Witkovich of a Slovene daily paper; Al Richmond of the **Daily Peoples World**, and Tony Minerich of **Narodi Glasnik**.

DIRECT ORDER: Belfrage's case "most clearly demonstrates the subservience of the Justice Dept. to [Sen. Joseph] McCarthy," a committee statement said, pointing out that Belfrage's detention was ordered by McCarthy.

The American Committee added that the editors named "have been conscientious in reporting any infringements on Constitutional and human rights," recalling that the GUARDIAN "first took up the news fight for the Trenton Six."

The committee is now handling 285 deportation cases and defending 30 persons facing denaturalization. No other organization is doing similar work, Asst. Secy. Alex Jones told the GUARDIAN, although the American Civil Liberties Union occasionally takes up a test case.

NICE TIMING: He pointed out that the committee itself was attacked immediately after an announcement that 10,000 naturalized and 12,000 non-citizens were being considered for deportation.

He cited these threats under the law:

> "Three million non-citizens can be subjected to police-state rule. Aside from the 280 non-citizens we are aiding and the 22,000 otherwise threatened, 11,000 naturalized citizens can lose citizenship. Twenty-six million first-generation U.S. citizens are affected. Seven hundred children have parents whom they may lose through deportation."

Rosenberg fight goes on in courts

(Continued from Page 1)

and a new trial.

In both previous Supreme Court actions, Justice Black has been the lone dissenter, holding in each instance that the Supreme Court should review the case. In the May 25 decision, he was joined by Justice William O. Douglas, acknowledged leader of a broad body of liberal thought in America which has not thus far joined in the effort for mercy and justice for the Rosenbergs.

Justice Douglas' dissent followed within a few days his significant address before the American Law Institute in Washington, at which he urged restoration of U.S. court procedure which "respects the dignity and worth of the individual." (See Emery story, p. 5.)

FRANKFURTER VIEW: Justice Douglas' public remarks indicated that the May 25 Rosenberg decision may have stimulated vigorous discussion on such matters in the Supreme Court itself. Justice Frankfurter, voting with the majority, referred again to his observation on the occasion of the first Rosenberg decision: that a refusal to review was not a judgment of the case per se, but merely reflected the failure of a minimum of four justices to agree to review it.

This has been taken to mean, in some quarters, that Frankfurter, a leader in the Sacco-Vanzetti fight in the '20's, might vote for a review if one other justice would agree along with Black and Douglas. In such an eventuality, the whole court would have to review the case and a decision for a new trial might ensue, perhaps to be conducted along lines urged by Justice Douglas.

NEW EVIDENCE: An order making possible a new trial would bring legally into the case such late developments as the disclosure by the GUARDIAN of the existence of the Rosenberg console table, misrepresented in its absence at the trial as incriminating by the government's two main witnesses, Ruth and David Greenglass; and documents indicating wholesale perjuries by Greenglass recently brought to light in the French and British press and traced to the files of the Greenglass lawyer, O. John Rogge, a former U.S. Attorney.

Meanwhile the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, 1050 Sixth Av., N.Y.C., sent a new appeal for executive clemency to President Eisenhower and urged immediate concurrence by letter and petition throughout the U.S.A. and the world.

Rosenberg letters

"Death House Letters of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg," a collection of letters written by the Rosenbergs from Sing Sing, will be published by the Jero Publishing Co. of New York on June 10.

The Natl. Comm. to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case will handle sales of the book in the U.S.

All proceeds from the book ($1 in a paper-bound edition) will go into a trust fund for the Rosenberg children, Michael, 10, and Robert, 6.

The letters, which total 160 pages, start with Julius' arrest in July, 1950, and continue through March, 1953.

BULLETIN No. 2

of the

Belfrage Fight-Back Fund

A MESSAGE FROM: **An American**
TO: Cedric Belfrage

Thank you for your gallant message on Page One to me and mine. I, too, am NOT FOR SALE.

I am asking Jack McManus to rush me reprint copies of your message to give to my neighbors and friends.

I am also rushing my fight-back contribution.

I am proud to get into this fight.

JOHN T. McMANUS, Treasurer
Belfrage Fight-Back Fund
17 Murray Street, New York 7

Dear John McManus: Count me in on the Belfrage FIGHT-BACK FUND. Enclosed is my fighting contribution for $ ....

Send me .... copies of Cedric Belfrage's NOT FOR SALE (Fight-Back Fund Pamphlet No. 1.) Price 10 copies, 50c; (stamps OK); 25 copies, $1; 100 copies, $2.50.

Name ....

Address ....

WAR & PEACE Allied pressure forces U.S. to modify Korea truce plan

By Tabitha Petran

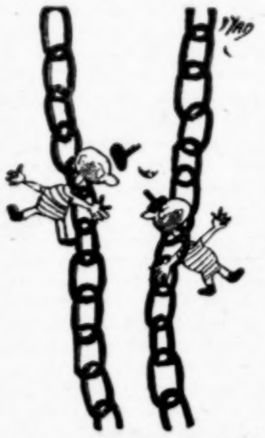
THE bankruptcy of Washington's "unconditional surrender" policy was plainly exposed last week:

- U.S. commentators reported "a deep and very dangerous chasm" opening under Western unity (Walter Millis, N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 5/25); "the resentful uneasiness against American leadership that is spreading over Europe" (Anne O'Hare McCormick, N.Y. **Times**, 5/23); the "loss of confidence and respect which has developed among those very people in Europe who wish most to believe in the U.S. and to work with it" (Walter Lippmann, 5/21).
- Washington maneuvered transparently to block mounting worldwide popular pressure for a negotiated settlement of the hot and cold wars.

Korea

Allied pressure forced the U.S. to modify its POW repatriation proposal. At U.S. request, the new plan was cloaked in secrecy, talks recessed until June 1. But the South Korean government, bitterly opposed to any truce which does not put it in control of all Korea, leaked to the press what it called the chief terms.

If correct, these suggested the U.S. was now following the India UN Resolution: to turn over both Korean and Chinese POW's who "refused repatriation" to a five-nation commission which would act by majority vote; then to a political conference and ultimately to the UN General Assembly any POW's who might still refuse to go home (INS, 5/26).



Drawing by Dyad, London

"You're right, Alfie—there are no strings attached to U.S. aid."

The other side's acceptance of such a plan would seem to depend on whether the U.S. would give any guarantee not to oppose China's admission to the UN.

AIN'T FUNNY: Pressure for a truce was mounting throughout the Western world. It was apparent in (1) the unanimous vote of the executive committee of the League of Red Cross Societies in Geneva for a halt in all fighting during an agreed-upon period while armistice negotiations continued; (2) persisting strong criticism of U.S. "rigidity" and "truculence" throughout Britain; (3) Secy. of State Dulles' apparent failure to sway India's Nehru from his view that the Chinese-N. Korean proposals constitute a basis for settlement.

In the U.S. the war-with-China forces held the headlines but the people were breaking through. Marquis Childs (N.Y. **Post**, 5/22) said letters to Washington were beginning "to indicate disaffection," quoted a Youngstown,, O., writer who said:

> "How do you think millions of us women feel who voted for Gen. Eisenhower because he said he would stop the war and bring the boys home? . . . Believe me, I have talked to many, many women and what they are going to do to the Republicans in the next election ain't funny."

FACTS OF LIFE: The Louisville (Ky.) **Courier Journal,** striking out at the "China First Senators," demanded recognition of China, declaring:

> "For almost five years we have been forced to ignore the reality of events in China and to pretend that the handful of Nationalists exiled on Formosa are the real representatives of the Chinese nation. . . . We had better face the fact that Red China does exist and that we are willing to live in the same world with it."

Bermuda

A Gallup Poll published last week reported 77% of the American people (and 76% of the British people) want big power talks with Russia. But the President's "first objective" in summoning France and Britain to a June conference in Bermuda was (James Reston, **NYT,** 5/24) "to block a meeting with the Russians" at this time. Most U.S. comment agreed the President "had gained a breathing spell" in which to try to compose allied differences. But this would not be easy.

ALLIED VIEW: London and Paris greeted the Bermuda Conference as the first step towards talks with Moscow. But Dulles in New Delhi (5/22) quickly disillusioned them, affirmed U.S. opposition to talks with Moscow, boasted that if an atomic war came the U.S. would win it.

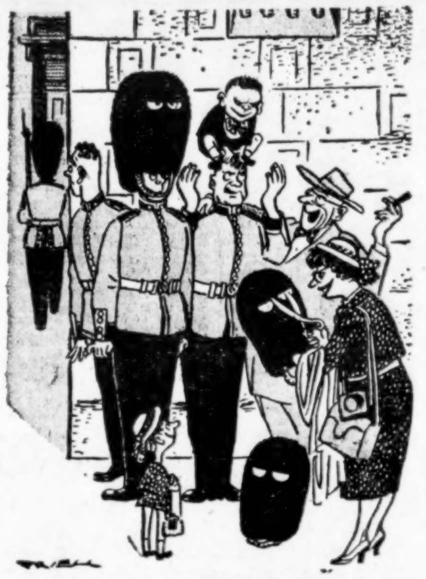
London and Paris want a settlement with China and, following a Korean truce, its admission to the UN. But Washington is "determined that a truce in Korea be followed by stiffer demands on Mao" (**Wall St. Journal,** 5/22). This would include a tightening of the economic embargo, stepping up the rearmament of Chiang, and continuing raids on the China mainland.

MOSCOW VIEW: A **Pravda** editorial (5/24), termed by Western diplomats in the U.S.S.R. "the most important pronouncement by Moscow on foreign affairs since Stalin's death," put the issues clearly. It said:

- The U.S.S.R. welcomes Churchill's proposal for high level talks and wants to negotiate settlements. But it will not accept "preliminary conditions," such as demanded by Mr. Eisenhower and Dulles. It likened the conditions to those which might be imposed in a war by a victor upon the vanquished; or in peacetime by a nation that had overwhelming military strength relative to an opponent.
- The proposed Bermuda three-power meeting "obviously aims at working out such demands to be presented to the U.S.S.R." A new Western agreement at Soviet expense "can bring further heightening of the tension in international relations."
- Churchill's "Locarno" approach to the German question is not acceptable to the U.S.S.R. which holds the reconstruction of Germany's unity to be of decisive importance.
- Neither the Korean truce nor Austrian Treaty talks can be considered "tests" of Soviet goodwill since responsibility for the delays and difficulties lies with the Western powers.

CONSISTENT STAND: Soviet rejection of the West's bid to resume talks on the Austrian treaty showed, as did the **Pravda** editorial, that the U.S.S.R. is leading from strength, that it insists on "a settlement in Europe which recognizes that Russia is a European power with vital interests in all Central and East European questions" (Walter Lippmann, 5/26).

The Soviet stand on the Austrian treaty has been consistent, demanding: fulfillment of the Potsdam decisions, verification by the Austrian government of the agreed-upon demilitarization and denazification of Austria (the verification was never made), and fulfillment by the West of its obligations concerning Trieste. After reaching agreement on 54 of 59 articles in the treaty, the West scrapped it, substituting a "short" treaty, whose net effect was to permit Austria to rearm and become a part of the Western alliance. The U.S.S.R. refused to accept the "short" treaty. Talks were suspended early this year.



Reynolds News, London

"There's twenty bucks in it for each of you soldiers! I do want our kids to have a front seat at the Coronation!"

The Soviet note rejecting the bid for resuming the talks suggested more might be achieved through diplomatic channels and was regarded as a reiteration of the Soviet demand for four-power talks.

Washington's dilemma was outlined by many commentators (Reston, Millis, Lippmann) who called on the President to exercise "strong leadership." They pictured him as caught helplessly between Allied pressures on the one hand and the China Lobby wing of the GOP on the other. Lippmann (5/25) said bluntly that the President

> ". . . will be trying to square the circle if he thinks he can reach a working unity with the commonwealth and with Europe until he has restored unity and discipline under his own leadership inside his own government."

A VERY HARD JOB: Millis pointed out that Churchill is ready to negotiate a settlement based on the **status quo,** while Eisenhower and Dulles are not, and said that this chasm cannot be

> . . . closed merely by peremptory demands on our part that every one else must play by our rules or else we will pick up our marbles and go home. . . . Our big economic contribution gives us a certain power to guide or lead this policy; it is impossible for us to dictate it, and it is growing more and more impossible with each passing month."

WORLD Unpopular W. Europe governments, propped by U.S., face rough elections

IN Western Europe, governments of U.S. allies faced trouble. The inability of these governments to speak for their people was pointed out by Walter Lippmann (5/21), who, back from a brief European visit, suggested that the "process of popular election" could no longer elect "sufficiently strong" governments. Unrepresentative and kept in power largely by U.S. "aid," these governments were encountering mounting difficulties in keeping their countries tied to U.S. policy.

In France and Italy the "process of popular election" was already riddled by laws designed to diminish representation of the Communists, largest single party in both countries. In France the result has been a long stalemate, reflected in the periodic fall of cabinets and periodic searches for a new premier.

SHAKY ITALY: In Italy, where national elections will be held June 7, Premier Alcide De Gasperi faces a shaky future despite the election law, pushed through parliament by palpably unconstitutional methods this spring, under which any party or coalition getting more than 50% of the votes would be awarded 65% of the seats in the Lower House. Even with this assist, De Gasperi was unsure of a majority. Arnaldo Cortesi reported (N.Y. **Times,** 5/22,24):

> ". . . there is an even chance that the four center parties (De Gasperi's Christian Democrats, Right Wing Socialists, Liberals and Republicans) may fall short of the majority . . . [needed] to form a new government . . . the electorate has shown itself apathetic toward the center parties . . . the Christian Democrats have weakened considerably."

Since the 1948 elections, in which the U.S. openly intervened, spending millions of dollars to insure De Gasperi's victory, Italians have become increasingly disillusioned: 2½ million remain unemployed (roughly 20% of the labor force); only 382,000 of 1,775,000 acres earmarked for needy peasants under the very modest land reform law have been distributed (leaving 35 million acres in the hands of the big landlords); opposition to rearmament and the NATO alliance is widespread.

LEFT TURN: In local elections, 1951 and 1952, the Christian Democrats lost their overall majority, winning only 37% of the votes. The left bloc (Communists and Pietro Nenni's Left Wing Socialists) increased its vote from 31.8 to 35.6%. In the agricultural south, the shift was even more spectacular, with the Christian Democrats' vote declining from 50 to 33%, the left bloc's rising from 23 to 30%.

In an effort to offset left gains, De Gasperi's center coalition opened a pictorial exhibit in Rome, purporting to give a "true picture of life on the other side of the Iron Curtain"; but the exhibit had to be hastily withdrawn when the Communist paper **L'Unita** proved that two photos supposedly showing Polish workers in a concentration camp were in reality pictures of Italians taken in Rome (**NYT,** 5/15).

In desperation, De Gasperi has tentatively supported a four-power, even a five- or six-power conference, including Italy. **Newsweek** (5/25) called this "a rare break with U.S. policy, caused by the undeniable impact of the Red peace offensive on the eve of the June 7 elections." But Nenni predicted (5/22) the defeat of the center coalition, suggesting that De Gasperi will be able to form a government only in coalition with his Socialists, who would continue to maintain the "unity of action pact" with the Communists.

WHY MAYER FELL: In France, the Mayer government fell ostensibly on the isssue of the budget (after failure of a dramatic last-minute effort to win support by taking credit for initiating the three-power Bermuda conference). Real reason was the failure to solve growing domestic and colonial troubles. Hatred of the Indo-China War, which continues to take a high toll of French lives, stretches into every party. At home low wages and the high cost of living which "wobbles [but] does not fall" prompted a "series of strikes" (London **Daily Telegraph,** 5/20) in which Communist and non-Communist unions were united (**NYT,** 5/21). GUARDIAN's Paris correspondent reported:

> ". . . A real change is happening here. The April municipal elections and the 'Conseil General' in the Seine district (Paris suburbs) showed the Communist Party not merely maintaining its position but gaining ground, polling 45% of the votes. Labor is alive with constant and 'circular' strikes — subways, buses, utilities, railways, ships, factories. Labor's demand for higher wages and dislike for W. German rearmament has forced the Socialists to oppose the new government's policy, and a new popular front is slowly but surely being built from the ground up through united labor struggle. . . ."

NEW YORK EDITION
Vol. 5, No. 32 NEW YORK, JUNE 1, 1953

THE MANHATTANVILLE STORY

How a neighborhood got together to fight the Money Power that attacked its homes

By Elmer Bendiner

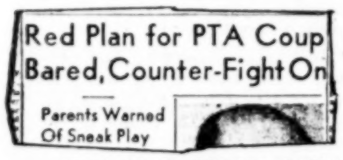
ON PAGE one of the **World-Telegram** (5/18) a two-column headline said: "RED PLAN FOR PTA COUP BARED, COUNTER-FIGHT ON." An editorial, same issue, said: "Let's block this attempt by Reds to take over a neighborhood Parent-Teachers Assn."

The **News** on page 2 (5/19) headlined: "RED FILTERING INTO PARENTS' GROUPS BARED." (Councilman Earl Brown did the baring.) Then, on May 21, in terms that sounded like a retreat from Heartbreak Ridge came this head in the **World Telegram:** "HARLEM PTA VOTE GOES TO LEFTISTS IN HARD BATTLE."

THE REASON: The battleground was P. S. 125, 425 W. 123d St., Manhattan. To many outside the neighborhood the catapulting of a PTA election into headlines saved for major battles seemed mystifying.

Those in the neighborhood were baffled by the spectacle of news photographers swarming over the school auditorium, trying to catch a glimpse of the woman they called the "red boss," Mrs. Elizabeth Barker. (Mrs. Barker holds no office in PTA, was running for none; her sole function is to help children in a PTA-sponsored gardening project.)

The journalistic high-jinks had a reason that went beyond the schoolhouse. Behind it lay the story of a three-year neighborhood fight to save the homes of thousands of New Yorkers.



Red Plan for PTA Coup Bared, Counter-Fight On

Parents Warned Of Sneak Play

N. Y. World Telegram & Sun

Manhattanville has a hill and a valley. On the hill are Columbia University, several other colleges, seminaries, cathedrals and the houses that accommodate professors, students and dignitaries. In the valley which slopes away from the Riverside Drive area north of 123d St. are the apartment houses of the poor: Irish, Negro, Puerto Rican, Chinese and Japanese. To the east lies Harlem.

REHABILITATION: The valley in Manhattanville is no slum. Most of the tall apartment houses have gilt-caged elevators, relics of earlier elegance. Houses need repair but are solid; apartments are roomy. In 1951 the "people on the hill" banded together on a scheme to "rehabilitate" the valley. Columbia University, Teachers College, the Union and Jewish Theological seminaries, Barnard, Riverside Church, Church of Corpus Christi, Juilliard School and International House combined to sponsor a glittering new cooperative housing project running from Broadway to Amsterdam Av., from W. 123rd St. to LaSalle St. They had other plans to "uplift" the whole area from W. 121st St. to W. 135th St., the river to St. Nicholas Terrace.

It quickly became apparent that if the area were uplifted along Columbia's line, the present tenants would be lifted out. A co-op apartment, for example, was to cost $1,000 a room, with maintenance charges of $25 a room per month. (It was later trimmed to $625 down and $21 a month per room.) A survey done by rigorous Columbia standards showed that only 6% of the people then living on the site of the projected co-op could even theoretically afford to move in. It would hold 971, dispossess 1,700 families.

In Manhattanville people of all kinds live together, work together as kids do in a model nursery. That unity blocked "the people on the hill."

EVACUATION? To many the "rehabilitation" seemed to consist of building a broad wall between the hill and Harlem. Experts from the hill searched desperately for people on the site to share in "uplift" plans. The press featured stories of a "community lifting itself by its bootstraps." The people on the site were unconvinced. When the hill people tried rushing the project through the Board of Estimate, a Japanese-American in the area, who came down to City Hall, said it was "like the evacuation of the Japanese all over again."

At a Japanese restaurant at 3120 Broadway, late in 1951, a group of residents gathered to stem what seemed to be a steamroller. They pitched in what money they had, found a mimeograph machine in someone's house, wrote a leaflet and a petition. Before the meeting broke up, some one asked: "How will we sign the leaflet?" Some one else answered: "The Save Our Homes Committee."

HOW IT STARTED: A few days later 150 people trooped down in the rain to City Hall, presented 1,500 signatures to a petition asking that the Board of Estimate hold up the project. (Among them was Mrs. Elizabeth Barker, whom the papers last week hounded.)

That delegation was the first of many in a long and bitter fight. The people on the hill said they included public housing projects as well in the uplift plans, but when the Save Our Homes Committee asked them to put the guaranatee in writing they balked.

Robert Moses, city planner, thundered at them, doubted their figures, their arguments, their integrity. A professor called the committee "disgustingly articulate." When spokesmen from the cathedrals and the colleges said the plan would reduce crime, committee speakers asked: "Do you mean you will reduce crime by getting rid of us? Are we criminals?"

BUSINESS UNTOUCHED: Committee spokesmen showed how Columbia's plans would leave untouched commercial structures in the area and mark for "redevelopment" only buildings where people lived. They said the city was full of slums, but Manhattanville's elevator apartment houses were marked for condemnation as the No. 1 priority project. They showed an area on the map, north of 125th St., which housed very few people in wretched ancient frame dwellings and asked why that area, which would displace very few, was not chosen.

When no answer came it seemed grimly obvious that to the people on the hill "uplift" seemed impossible unless the people were cleared out along with the houses.

THE SCIENTISTS: As the committee won delay after delay (with delegations of 600 or more at City Hall) the hill people changed tactics. A "coordinator of community organizations" came into the neighborhood on a scientific sociological project and quickly sparked a "citizens committee." At its organizing session late in 1952 Councilman Earl Brown came to speak. He favored the co-op. The audience did not. They wanted to elect their own chairman.

Councilman Brown denounced them for 45 minutes as communist. He was shouted down, booed from the platform and has been unpopular in the area ever since. (His unfriendliness toward Mrs. Barker, then active in the Save Our Homes Committee, showed up last week in the P. S. 125 incident.)

RED
RED
RED
R.J.

Every rally of the Save Our Homes Committee was greeted by vigorous red-baiting. It was handled once and decisively. A spokesman for the committee told such a meeting: "If you change the subject to whether this one or that one is a communist you'll still be talking about it when we're all in the gutter, and then it won't matter."

PUBLIC HOUSING: The neighbors stuck to the subject. Neighborhood priests joined the delegations to the Board of Estimate, celebrated every delay the committte won in the co-op's now difficult progress through the legislative mill.

The co-op was backed by all the weight of Columbia. David Rockefeller figured in the assault. As the co-op's steamroller daily seemed more difficult to halt, the committee tried to tie public housing to it, seeking to guarantee that at least some families dispossessed by the co-op would find other housing.

When, last winter, committee spokesmen warned the Board of Estimate that Congress might not approve another low-cost housing budget City planner Robert Moses called them "liars."

Congressman Javits (R-N.Y.), never a friend of the committee, nevertheless agreed there was a chance the Federal low-cost housing bill might be killed. The Board of Estimate last April passed the Co-op but tagged on the provision that land for it could not be condemned unless simultaneously land was made available for public housing in the area. (Now if Congress does axe public housing, the co-op will not be able to dispossess the people on the site.)

LESSON IN UNITY: Some called it a compromise but to the valley poor in Manhattanville it was a great victory.

The victory was counted also in the unity of Manhattanville's melting pot, a unity of races and religions impervious to red-baiting. The neighbors would need their unity to battle for decent relocation of any tenants dispossessed. (A side skirmish was fought in court against the city and Columbia but thrown out by Judge Morris Eder. He was asked to rule although he himself had condemned the houses on the site of the co-op to begin with.)

THEY'RE WATCHING: The neighborhood in recent months has grown a little seedy. Landlords, knowing that they may shortly turn over the property to the new co-op, have cut their services, in some cases fired the superintendents; they've ordered no coal, made no repairs. The committee, now merged in a larger fight with the Manhattanville Civic Assn., diligently checks on all the overdue repairs and waits to present a backlog of grievances to the new landlords.

In that setting of a community that had won at least part of its battle for survival, the Parent-Teachers Assn. of P. S. 125 held its election last week. Incumbents represented many who had fought to save their homes, though the PTA had taken little action itself.

Councilman Brown, smarting from wounds in the co-op wars, designated the incumbent slate as red, organized a campaign by leaflet and press. Democratic boss Robert B. Blaikie, with an eye to a tussle with his Tammany rivals, brought his block captains into action.

The incumbents issued leaflets in Spanish and English with sample ballots, called on the United Parents Assn. to send observers.

THE BALLOT: UPA observer Mrs. Laura Wells told reporters candidly that if the incumbents won, the vote would be contested; if not, the vote would stand. Other observers watched the balloting all evening in the school, and when after midnight it adjourned to the police precinct nearby, challenged no voter.

The balloting gave incumbent president Mrs. Sadie Sadler 183 to 102 for her opponent, Mrs. Marbell Fane. Other incumbents carried the same 9-5 majorities. Last week the defeated candidates clamored for a recount. UPA spoke of "irregularities," but as yet has taken no action. Parents questioned thought the newspaper treatment a scandal.

The co-op was still tangled and Mrs. Barker went on gardening.

"Stop Liquidation" IWO rally in N.Y.

INTL. WORKERS ORDER, which has provided low-cost insurance, sick benefits and numerous fraternal services to more than 150,000 members and their families and which, though solvent, has been ordered dissolved, is holding a "Stop Liquidation!" mass protest meeting in New York Sun., June 7, at St. Nicholas Arena, 60 W. 66th St.

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ULTIMATE DESTINY

Children play in the sun.

The ball flies back and forth.

A scream of joy splits the air.

And times passes.

Other screams fill the air.

Screams of men in pain. Screams of women and children with burned faces and torn-open stomachs.

Children play in the sun, while men in high places plan their murder.

Ultimate destiny.

And you.

The world moves slowly, now faster, now slower toward disaster.

Children play in the sun.

Calculating men count their number, calculate their ultimate destiny.

Words pile on top of words, words upon words into a Tower of Babel: Freedom and the free world. Democracy and free enterprise. Iron curtains and Communism. Imperialism and colonialism. Peace and war.

What does freedom mean?

Is it freedom when men fear to speak, when perjury and contempt replace the wheel and the rack? When ancient and revered guarantees of liberty are discarded as having outlived their usefulness.

What does peace mean?

Is it peace when great debate revolves around whether to spend a few billion more or less for war? When the word itself is treated as something hateful? When its proponents and advocates are viewed with suspicion?

Children play in the sun.

What ultimate destiny for them?

Time passes swiftly. Their time is measured not in months and years but in atomic stockpiles.

And in you.

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

ALP COMMUNITY CENTER, 220 W. 80th St., presents **SAT., MAY 30:** Movie and Dance. W. C. Fields in "Never Give A Sucker An Even Break." Donation: $1. **SAT., JUNE 6:** Movie and Dance. Jean Renoir in "The Southerner." Adm. $1. Candlelit tables, refreshments.

TIMELY DISCUSSION, "Peace and Jobs: Can We Have Both?" Speakers: Thomas Richardson, Clifford Cameron, Sidney Gluck. Discussion from the floor. Wed., June 3, 7:30 p.m. Cornish Arms Hotel, 311 W. 23d St. Adm: 60c. Auspices: American Peace Crusade.

PEACE PARTY on Memorial Day, 8:30 pm., at Arthur Kahn residence, 138 Remsen St., Brooklyn. (IRT, BMT to Boro Hall Sta.) Adm. $1. People Artist entertainment. Sponsor: American Veterans for Peace.

NEW YORK CLASSIFIED

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THEY'RE LOOKING FOR MONEY AT CITY HALL

Mayor asks more taxes; transit steal goes ahead

CITY HALL last week went looking for fresh money, found most commodities already too highly taxed to be tapped still more in an election year, and turned to people's services.

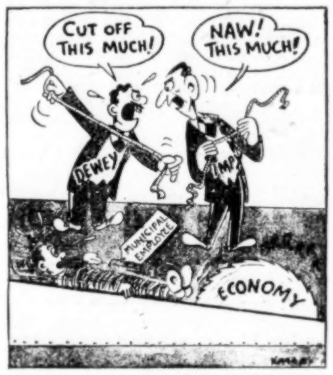
Mayor Impellitteri proposed to the City Council a 3% tax on home and business repairs, and on charges for real estate, advertising and bank transactions. Though the measure would exempt from taxation the services of doctors, lawyers, accountants, barbers, clothes pressers and domestic workers, the ALP noted that the door was open for amendments after election, saw it as "part of a determined drive by big business to impose a national sales tax."

CLOSED DEAL: The ALP said: "Although the sponsors of this local law state that it will exempt personal services . . . the law may be amended to cover such services once it is on the books. Moreover, even in its present form, the proposal will make subject to the sales tax the total bills for such services in the home as television and radio repairs, plumbing and electrical work."

The Mayor hoped to raise $15,000,000 by new sales taxes. If the Council passes the measure it will go to the Bd. of Estimate, then to the Mayor who must hold a public hearing before signing it.

The city meanwhile prepared to lease its transit lines to an Authority committed to a fare raise without public hearing. The Bd. of Estimate and the Mayor were set to approve the deal in closed executive session.

78,000 NAMES: Arthur Schutzer, ALP exec. secy., calling for an open hearing, said: "Not even in the days of Boss Tweed has there been such arrogant disregard of common civic decency and fundamental democratic procedure. . . . The reasons for this hush - hush method of imposing the transit authority agreement, with its inevitable fare increase, are quite obvious. The transit authority scheme, cooked up by the Mayor and Gov. Dewey, means an extra burden on the subway riders and a bonanza for the bankers and the bond owners. It means unlimited power to raise fares by an agency not elected by and indifferent to the people."



From Spotlight, AFL

Last week the ALP handed the Mayor and the Board of Estimate petitions bearing another 18,000 signatures protesting the transit authority shift. It brought the total of such signatures on ALP petitions to 78,000.

The deal was working its way slowly through the courts where the city was unenthusiastically contending that it was unconstitutional because it violated home rule provisions. Last week the Appellate Division upheld the deal and the case was being readied for the Court of Appeals.

A GOOD MAN? The opposition to the deal by Controller Lazarus Joseph seemed on the surface to be adamant but many doubted it would stand up. (He had promised to use his three votes on the Bd. of Estimate to block it.) The N. Y. **Times** (5/23) said:

"There were indications . . . that the contract between the city and the authority would be so drawn as to meet Mr. Joseph's objections."

Though June was the deadline month for the authority shift, most politicians thought of November. Coalitions, right, left and center, were in the air. The N. Y. **Times** (5/26) called for a "coalition agreement on a good man, so that all of us can begin early to fight the battle for better government at City Hall."

Many on the left shared the **Times'** view but would differ on the man and the program. The only specific coalition offered came from N. Y. County GOP Chairman Thomas J. Curran, who thought GOP and Liberals might rally behind N. Y. Dist. Atty. Frank Hogan (D).

The Mayor campaigned without self-consciousness:

"I think the city is very well managed and efficiently operated, and I will still be glad to yell it from the rooftops."

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Events for Children

JUNE 6-12

Films

TRAVEL FILMS—ENGLAND: N.Y. Historical Society, 170 Central Park W. at 77th St. Sat., June 6, 2 p.m. Free.

MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY: Central Park W. & 79th St. CRAFTS OF FIRE & DANIEL BOONE, Wed., June 10, 4 p.m. Free.

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM: B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Sat., June 6. Free.

Film: AIR PORT, 11 a.m.; Story Hour, 11:30 a.m. (4-6 yrs.); Live Animal Show, 1:15 p.m.; Film: BLACK BEAR TWINS, 2 p.m.; Film: MUSEUM FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN, 4:30 p.m; GRAY SQUIRREL, Tues., June 9, 4:30 p.m.; NOTHING BUT AIR, Wed., June 10, 3:45 p.m.; CHEMISTRY, Thurs., June 11, 4:30 p.m.; HOW TO BUILD AN IGLOO, Fri., June 12, 4:30 p.m.

Miscellaneous

DANCE FESTIVAL: Children's Dance Festival, Kings Park, Jamaica Av. & 150th St. Sat., June 6, 2:30 p.m. Free.

ROSE FESTIVAL: Crowning of the Queen of Roses. Queens Botanical Gardens, Flushing Meadow Park, Lawrence St. & Fowler Av. Sun., June 7, 3 p.m. Free.

LOLLY-POP FARM: Children are permitted to pet baby animals. Syosset, L. I. (Route 25, Jericho Tpke.) Daily 10 a.m-5 p.m. 30c.

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM: B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Sat., June 6. Free. Science Demonst.: WHAT CLOCKS ARE MADE OF, 2:30 p.m.; Cultural History Demonst.: TREASURE HUNT, 3:30 p.m.

WONDERLAND FARM ZOO: Children are permitted to pet baby animals. So. Ozone Park. Daily 10 a.m.-6 p.m. 30c.

SQUARE DANCE: For older children. Community Church, 40 E. 35th St. Sat., June 6, 7:30-11:30 p.m.

PAL MEET: Track and field meet. Girls and boys. Curtis High School, Hamilton Av. & St. Marks Pl. Sat., June 6, 11 a.m. Free.

FARM-IN-THE-ZOO: stocked with domestic animals. Baby chicks out of the incubator on Saturdays. Poultry exhibit features eggs of all sizes from bantam to goose. Milking demonstrations by milking machine and by hand. Bronx Park Zoo, at Bronx River Parkway. Admission 18c. Children under 6 yrs. and organized groups with an adult admitted free.

CASTING POOL: for anglers to practice bait and skish casting. Pool will not contain fish. Casting with hooks not permitted. Bring own equipment. Bronx Park at Bronx River Parkway. 25c per ½ hr. of practice.

BEACHES: N. Y. C. opened May 23. Jones Beach: children's play area now open at Central Mall, accessible from Fields 4 and 5. Equipped with tricycles, merry-go-rounds, see-saws and slides. Roller skating rink, 10c. Skates may be rented for 25c.

●

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Movie Suggestions

Midtown

SADKO—(Russ.) based on Rimsky-Korsakoff opera, in color. Stanley, 7th Av. & 42d St. Premiere May 30.

TONIGHT AT 8:30—(Br.) composite of 3 Noel Coward plays. Baronet, 3d Av. at 59th St.

RING AROUND THE CLOCK—(It.) another comedy on the Catholic-Communist struggle in Italy. Sutton, 57th St. & 3d Av.

FANFAN THE TULIP—(Fr.) satire on war with Gerard Philipe. Fine Arts, 130 E. 58th St.

SEVEN DEADLY SINS—(Fr.-It.) 7 short films, one per sin. Paris, 4 W. 58th St.

BELLISSIMA—with Anna Magnani, the Italian movie industry satirizes itself. Trans-Lux, 60th St. & Madison Av.

Manhattan

AMERICAN, 236 E. 3d St. **Mussorgsky** (Russ. life of composer) & **Timber Fury**, June 4-5.

APOLLO, 223 W. 42d St. **The Promoter & I Believe in You** (both Br.), from May 27.

BEEKMAN, 2d Av. bet. 65-66. Davis in **The Star & Taxi**, thru June 2; **Come Back Little Sheba**, June 3-9.

COLONY, 1519 2d Av. **Little Sheba & Stars Are Singing**, May 31-June 2.

85TH ST., Madison & 85th. **The Promoter**, thru June 2; **The Star**, June 3-6.

8TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 52 W. 8th St. **The Suspect** (Br.) and **My Sister Eileen** (reissue), thru June 30; **Dulcimer Street & Jenny Lamour**, May 31-June 2.

5TH AV. PLAYHOUSE, 5th Av. & 13th St. **Peter Pan**, thru June 5.

55TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 154 W. 55th. **Masquerade in Vienna & Bel-Ami**, thru May 31; **Bicycle Thief & Devil in the Flesh**, June 1-7.

GRANDE, 86th & Lexington. **Scaramouche & Viva Zapata**, May 30-June 1; **Dead of Night & Madonna of Seven Moons** (both Br.), June 2-4.

GRAMERCY, 23d & Lexington. **The Promoter** (Br.), thru June 4; **Call Me Madam**, June 5-8.

GUILD, 33 W. 50th St. **Tales of Hoffman**, continuing.

GREENWICH, Greenwich Av. at 12th St. **The Star & Taxi**, May 31-June 2.

HEIGHTS, 150 Wadsworth Av. **Come Back Little Sheba & Stars Are Singing**, thru June 3; **Winslow Boy & The Suspect** (both Br.), June 4-7.

LITTLE CARNEGIE, 146 W. 57th St. **Cinderella**, from Rossini's **Cenerentola**, thru June 5.

MIDTOWN, B'way & 100th. **Magic Box & Skipper Next to God**, thru June 2; **Dark Victory & No Highway in the Sky**, June 3-5.

PLAZA, 58th & Madison. **Call Me Madam**, May 30-June 5.

68TH ST., 68th St. & 3d Av. **Peter Pan & Bear Country**, May 30-June 2; **Little Sheba**, June 3-9.

SYMPHONY, 95th & B'way. **Little Sheba & Stars Are Singing**, thru June 2.

THALIA, 95th & B'way. **Carnet de Bal & Revenge** (both Fr.), thru June 4.

WAVERLY, 6th Av. & 3d St. **The Star & Taxi**, May 31-June 2.

Special

ALP MANHATTAN COMMUNITY CENTER, 220 W. 80th St. **W. C. Fields in Never Give a Sucker an Even Break**, Sat., May 30, 8:30 p.m. $1.

CLUB CINEMA, 430 6th Av. **The Fall of Berlin**, documentary made by Red Army cameramen (not the color feature made in 1951), completed within two weeks of the surrender for showing to Berlin residents. May 28-30, from 8:30.

MUS. OF MODERN ART, 11 W. 53d St. Shows 3 & 5:30 p.m.

Fred Astaire & Ginger Rogers in **Top Hat** (1935), May 25-31.

Carole Lombard & Fredric March in **Nothing Sacred** (1937), June 1-7.

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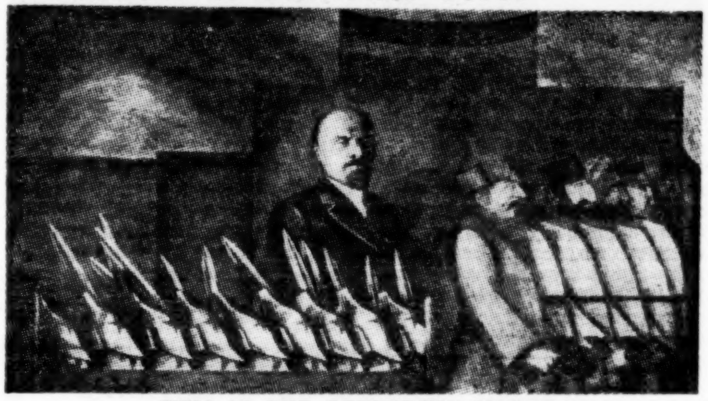
THE YELLOW CURTAIN

New school keeps Orozco shroud as students scoff



THIS IS THE OFFENDING MURAL
Now what do you suppose Orozco meant?

LAST March 30, the GUARDIAN broke the story of the yellow curtain that hangs in the dining room of the New School of Social Research, 66 W. 12th St., concealing the mural by the late Mexican artist, Jose Clemente Orozco. The GUARDIAN's headline explained that the mural contained portraits of "S - - - - n and L - - - - n."

The story quoted New School spokesmen and leading art authorities around town on the censorship.

Last week the N.Y. **World-Telegram** (5/21) and the N.Y. **Times** (5/22) ran the story—late but at length—and reported widespread student protest. The **Times** said: "The politics versus art controversy apparently began when the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, a Leftist magazine, denounced the banning of the mural."

ARE YOU ANXIOUS? Last month a group of New School students circulated a petition and a leaflet asking the "captive audience" in the dining room:

"Do you feel more of a captive when you have the freedom of choice to look or not at the murals at your own discretion, or when someone decides for you that the mural is not to be viewed?"

One student told reporters: "I don't think any knowledge should be covered up. I saw this sort of thing happen in Czechoslovakia 14 years ago and I don't want to see it happen here." She asked that her name be withheld because she hoped one day to teach in a New York school.

School authorities regretted both mural and curtain but said they would keep both where they are. Dr. Hans Simons, school president, said the mural "does not express the philosophy of the faculty," but that he and others on the staff thought it ought to be regarded not as propaganda but as a view of history. He was yielding, he said, to "a mass of protests" against the mural.

MEANING OF YELLOW: Last March Agnes de Lima, publicity director of the school, told the GUARDIAN that if the protest went the other way the school would lift the curtain.

The mural shows a portrait of Lenin and a file of Red Army soldiers, representing a variety of the world's peoples. Stalin is the end man marching alongside a Negro, a Jew, an Indian and a Chinese. The **Times** commented: "What Orozco . . . had in mind politically when he did the murals . . . is not known."

In any case the meaning of the yellow curtain seemed clear.

Where to Go

BILL OF RIGHTS HOOTENANNY & DANCE—with Guy Carawan, Laura Duncan, Joan Eston, Lillian Goodman, Lloyd Gough, Al Moss., Bill Robinson, Betty Sanders, Edith Segal Dance Group, Jerry Silverman, Sonny Terry, Rector Bailey Orch., Webster Hall, 119 E. 11th St., Sat., June 6, 8:30 p.m. Tickets: People's Artists, 799 B'way, GR 7-1341.

THE SILVER CORD—First local showing in 20 years of Sidney Howard's 1926 drama on ties between a mother and son. Provincetown Playhouse, 133 MacDougal St. Eves except Monday 8:40 p.m. Sat., 2:30 p.m. Opened May 27.

MAY 29-30:
THE FALL OF BERLIN
Black and white documentary of Red Army's battle that smashed Hitler's citadel. Filmed at the front.
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8:40 p.m. Res. TR 3-4810

Lost skirmish spurs hotter war against jimcrow housing

THE fight against jimcrow housing in the city took one lost skirmish in its stride last week and redoubled the effort.

Mrs. Sophie Decatur who on May 20 was evicted from her subleased apartment in Metropolitan Life's Parkchester project, said: "Even though I'm out of Parkchester, I'm in on this until Negroes are accepted as tenants on the same equal basis as all others." (The Decaturs were the project's first and only Negro tenants.)

The Bronx Comm. for Integrated Housing reported that many groups and prominent individuals, shocked at Met. Life's refusal to alter its jimcrow policy and the forcible eviction of Mrs. Decatur and friends by the Marshal, were urging further protest action.

Within the next week about two dozen Negro families are to apply for residence in Parkchester, despite Met. Life's earlier statement that they "did not and would never rent to Negroes." The Bronx Comm. has reapplied for a half-hour television program which had been scheduled earlier by station WOR-TV, but was cancelled on short notice last April as "too controversial."

LEVITTOWN FRONT: In Levittown, L. I., also discrimination was under fire. Last June Cynthia and William Cotter and their five children were promised by Morris Management that they could rent a house in Levittown. Later the management reneged (the Cotters are Negro) and the Cotters accepted the invitation of Levittown friends to sublet their house. Since the Cotters have lived in Levittown they have made many attempts to secure their own house, most recently to buy the house they now occupy when their friends' lease expires May 31. All requests have been turned down.

The Committee to End Discrimination in Levittown plans a regular picket line beginning at 10 a.m. each Saturday before the office of Morris Management, 26 Butternut Lane, Levittown, to demand that the Cotter family be permitted to buy.

KV SECTOR: With the Edward Strickland family facing eviction from Manhattan's Knickerbocker Village project any time in the next eight days, the Knickerbocker Tenants' Assn. distributed 20,000 leaflets in shopping areas and in Harlem. The KV Assn. is asking people to write and call KV administrator Irving Brown (551 5th Av., MU 2-8490), urging that Mr. Strickland, who is Negro, not be evicted from KV as punishment for his leadership in the fight against jimcrow there.

MEMORIAL MEETING
To Commemorate 12th Anniversary of Slaughtering of Jews in Jassy (Rumania)
SUNDAY, JUNE 14—2 P.M.
MANHATTAN CENTER
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McCARTHYISM RIDES HIGH

Liberals, churchmen, educators cry halt

By Lawrence Emery

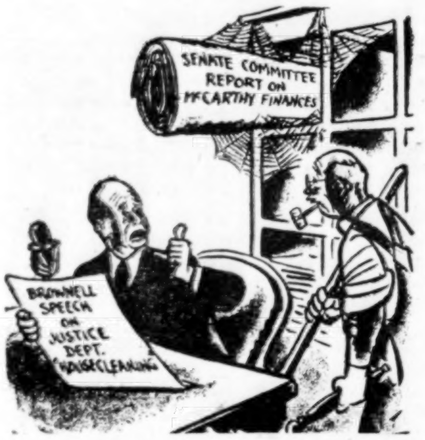
McCARTHYISM—which includes Sen. William E. Jenner (R-Ind.) of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, Rep. Harold H. Velde (R-Ill.) of the House Comm. on Un-American Activities, and a host of other official and unofficial witch-hunters and dragon-killers—was riding high last week. McCarthy himself announced he would begin hearings soon on what he called "waste, incompetence and subversion" in the government's educational exchange program. Jenner's committee was already launched on a probe of "subversives" in the Washington area. Velde's committee was about to call to Washington New York personages in the field of entertainment and education.

Two of the latest exploits of the saviors of U.S. purity brought U.S. prestige to a new low both at home and abroad. Mrs. Alva Myrdal, an internationally-known Swedish sociologist, was forced to sign an agreement putting her on parole before she was allowed entry to this country for a special three-week assignment with the UN; no reason was given for the extraordinary insult. And on May 19 it was revealed that Mrs. Mildred McAfee Horton, former president of Wellesley College and wartime head of the Navy's WAVEs, was mysteriously blocked from a State Dept. appointment as U.S. delegate to UN's Economic and Social Commission.

CURIOUS BUSINESS: Mrs. Horton herself was mystified:

> "I don't know what blocked the appointment except that a State Dept. official informed me the papers from the [FBI] field investigation arrived too late. . . ."

FBI denied any responsibility; State blamed its own "cumbrous mechanism." Mrs. Horton is the daughter of a minister and the wife of a minister and is high in the Natl. Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. She conceded that "I apparently had joined a great many organizations." It was recalled that in 1949 she had criticized the House Comm. on Un-American Activities for wanting to examine Wellesley's social science text-books and had denounced "red-baiters and black-haters." She had told a graduating class that the "very existence" of the Un-


SENATE COMMITTEE REPORT ON McCARTHY FINANCES
BROWNELL SPEECH ON JUSTICE DEPT. HOUSECLEANING

Herblock in Washington Post

"—Uh—Never mind dusting up there"

American Committee "suggests a widespread fear . . . which permeates our modern age. . . ." Her comment last week on the State Dept.'s action: "A curious way to do business."

But the witch-hunters wanted tougher new laws, weaker old ones. On May 3 a House Judiciary subcommittee began hearings on bills legalizing wire-tapping and permitting use of wire-tap evidence in federal cases on "national security and defense." Such evidence is now outlawed. On May 5 the Defense Dept. endorsed legalized wire-tapping and on May 8 Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell submitted his own wire-apping bill to Congress; unlike others, his provides no penalty for unauthorized wire-tapping.

INFORM, OR ELSE: Some time earlier a Senate Judiciary subcommittee approved a bill to subvert the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution which protects all persons from being forced to testify against themselves. Sponsored by Sen. Pat McCarran (D-Nev.), the bill would empower Congressional committees to grant immunity to balky witnesses and leave them the simple choice of answering all questions or going to prison for contempt. On May 9 the bill would have passed the Senate without debate except that no quorum was present. The measure is still pending.

Sen. Alexander Wiley (R-Wisc.) was for a general overhaul of Constitutional protections against political persecution. He said an analysis prepared by the Library of Congress at his request showed "some wide open loopholes" in laws against treason, espionage, sabotage and sedition, cited these traditional bulwarks of U.S. freedoms: short statutes of limitations; guarantees of public trial and due process of law; restrictions on admissibility of certain kinds of evidence; immunity for diplomatic representatives; limited scope of extradition treaties; and the strict requirements for proof of treason.

FIGHT BACK: But throughout the land new and louder voices were being raised against McCarthyism; some hoped the President would call a halt to some of its recklessness, but many had reached the conclusion that the people themselves must act in unison. Many educators and student groups were fighting back; the venerable Ralph Barton Perry, Professor Emeritus of Philosophy at Harvard, said of current probes in a letter to the N.Y. **Times:**

> ". . . in view of their demagogic motivation, loose methods, vindictive tone, and the general effect of terror there can be no doubt that, however Constitutional, they should not be 'welcomed.' The colleges and universities, along with other agencies of public opinion, should deplore them and cast the weight of their influence, individual and collective, against them."

Churchmen throughout the nation were aroused at Rep. Velde's continuing threats to investigate the clergy. On May 7 Velde said:

> "If I find a communist, whether he be in overalls or in sanctified cloth, I will see that he is investigated."

SINNERS ALL: On May 16 he charged that criticism of his threatened probe is a new "sin," said that a clergyman is not "'different from any other member of American society as far as communism is concerned." On May 20, following a closed committee meeting, Velde announced that the possibility of a church probe is still open. On the same day in Chicago the Natl. Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. appointed a committee of 15, headed by Bishop Henry Knox Sherrill, to report and act against all developments, in and out of Congress, that "threaten the freedom of the people and institutions of the U.S." Mrs. Horton is a member of the committee.

Last April Rev. Dr. A. Powell Davies (Unitarian) of Washington, D.C., told his congregation it is time for the churches to investigate Congress; last week speaking in Boston he said that McCarthy "to a great extent" is ruling the U.S. and that Secy. of State Dulles "might well be called" McCarthy's "administrative assistant."

In New York the Very Rev. James A. Pike, Dean of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, world's largest Protestant Episcopal church, called for "a positive counter-assault" against "Congressional smearers."

PAUL REVERES: A three-day convention of Americans for Democratic Action in Washington last week heard Sen. Herbert Lehman (D-N.Y.) charge that the Eisenhower administration has failed to protect the nation's foreign policy against the "assaults of irresponsible demagogues." He asked why Americans tolerate "traveling troupes of Congressional inquisitors to pry into the lives, the morals, the thoughts and beliefs of our scholars, teachers, writers and ministers," and called for a "thousand Paul Reveres" to sound the alarm. A convention resolution expressed "deep concern . . . at the apathy of our political leaders to this menace" and criticized both major parties for failing to "fight this evil."

Officers of Freedom House, themselves violently anti-communist, attacked McCarthy as "irresponsible and intemperate" and "ever ready to stoop to false innuendo." Averell Harriman, former Mutual Security Director, called on the Democratic Party to take a stand against McCarthyism. Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) said in Congress:

> "The Administration incredibly has chosen the path of appeasement with McCarthy. The Senate will not act against one of its members. The House cannot. Sen. McCarthy must be brought before the bar of public opinion."

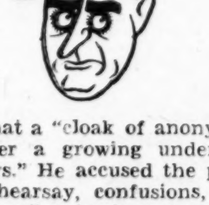
PANDORA'S BOX: George F. Kennan, former Ambassador to the Soviet Union, warned an audience at Notre Dame:

> "The forces of intolerance and political demagoguery are greedy forces, and unrestrained. There is no limit to their ambitions or their impudence. They contain within themselves no mechanism of self-control. Like the ills of Pandora's box, once released, they can be stopped only by forces external to themselves."

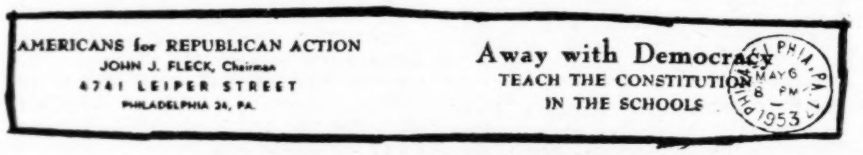
Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas in an address before the American Law Institute in Washington last week urged a "crusade" by the legal profession to save the freedoms written into basic law:

> "We deprive men of jobs and destroy their reputations with practices as callous as those involved in the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh; and we traffic in hysteria almost as acute as the atmosphere surrounding the witch trials."

PASSION'S FURY: He said the country today is blanketed by a "vast network" of wire-tappers and eavesdroppers and that a "cloak of anonymity is thrown over a growing underground of informers." He accused the press of pumping "hearsay, confusions, theory and influence" into jury rooms, and said of trials he has reviewed on the bench:



> "In some cases it seemed that the prosecutors were resorting to modern witchcraft, confusing the 'internal and external aspects of the Communist threat' . . . in an effort to get the spectre into the jury room. . . . Sometimes they treated the courtroom not as a place of dignity, detached from the community, but as a place to unleash the fury of public passion. . . . Today fear eats away at the hearts of men, until even old neighbors suspect one another. Alarms are sounded, anxieties are traded upon until a community does not know what to believe or whom to trust."



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Calling all witch-hunters

Want to find a real un-American outfit to hunt? The day after Cedric Belfrage appeared before the Velde Committee he received a letter in an envelope printed as above—an open call for abolition of democracy circulating through the U.S. mails. C.B.'s favorite passage in the letter itself: "Free speech is for citizens, not for aliens. . . ."

I. F. STONE COMMENTS

Issues in the Belfrage arrest

I. F. Stone, one of the few independent, outspoken commentators still printing today, wrote for the May 30 issue of "I. F. Stone's Weekly" an editorial article entitled "The Issues in the Arrest of Cedric Belfrage." An excerpt of the article appears below:

THE most important issue of all revolves around the freedom of the press and its role in the fight for peace. The NATIONAL GUARDIAN is the unofficial organ of the Progressive Party. It is one of the few voices left which disagree with the official cold war line. Mr Attlee was telling the literal truth when he said there were some Americans who don't want peace; they may be few, but they are powerful. He might have added that there are few Americans left who dare speak up openly for peace. The attack on Belfrage and the GUARDIAN is an attempt to intimidate and silence those few.

McCarthy is hunting for bigger game. James Aronson, executive editor of the GUARDIAN, was asked at the hearing in Washington whether he had ever taken instructions on the handling of the news from the Communist Party while employed by the **New York Post** and the New York **Times.** Aronson denied this. The groundwork is being laid for "expert" testimony by Matusow and Budenz with which McCarthy, Velde and Jenner may harass what little remains of independence and liberalism in the American press.

The respectables look the other way. The New York **Times** spoke up for James Wechsler of the New York **Post** but the **Post** did not speak up for the GUARDIAN. True, Belfrage's case is more difficult: he neither confessed, recanted nor informed. But the difference clarifies the real issue which must be faced if freedom of the press is to be preserved.

Congress, under the First Amendment, may make no law abridging freedom of the press. A law imposing some kind of "loyalty" standards on the personnel and policies of the press would be patently unconstitutional. The crucial question is whether a Congressional committee can do by indirection under the guise of investigation what it clearly could not do directly. To permit Congress to investigate the ideas of newspapers, and newspapermen is to permit the enforcement of conformity by harassment. Unless such right is denied the door is wide open for any adventurer like McCarthy.

Negroes win greatest election victory in South since Reconstruction period

By Eugene Gordon

NEGRO and white voters in two Southern states this month brought back sharp memories of the 1867-77 Reconstruction period: In five cities in North Carolina five Negroes were elected to city councils; in Atlanta, Ga., a Negro was elected to the Board of Education and two were chosen to the city's Executive Committee. The victories were credited in large measure to recently developed movements to reestablish the right of Negroes to hold public office.

ATLANTA STORY: In a citywide election Atlanta University's president, Dr. Rufus Clement, in the Education Board race, got some 9,000 votes in the almost solidly Negro Third Ward and about 13,000 in other precincts. This gave the 52-year-old Negro educator 22,259 votes to 13,936 for J. H. Landers, white, who has served 26 years on the board.

Dr. Clement's manager, Atlanta U. Prof. J. B. Blayton Sr., waged a vigorous campaign: he arranged a series of personal appearances for Dr. Clement before white voters and radio and TV programs. Dr. Clement said before the vote: "The South is far ahead of what some people think." He said afterward:

> "It isn't a personal victory but a victory for the people. There is a very solid core of good will in the middle of the Negro people and of the white people, if given a chance to express itself."

SILENT CAMPAIGN: Landers had been so sure of winning that he made no speeches during the campaign. He said ruefully: "I didn't think the people were ready for this." He was the first among many white persons to send congratulations to Dr. Clement.

RUFUS CLEMENT
It was not personal . . .

Sensing the tide, the opposition to Dr. Clement staged an 11th-hour campaign charging that Dr. Clement was "subversive" and produced a list of "red-front" organizations to which he allegedly belonged as proof. Dr. Clement admitted membership in or association with three "a long time ago"; said he had left when he learned they were "Communist-dominated."

His counsel at an Executive Committee hearing at City Hall in which he cleared himself was attorney A. T. Walden, Georgia head of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People. Walden and Miles G. Amos, a druggist, were elected to the city Executive Committee.

N. CAROLINA REPORT: A. M. Rivera Jr., writing in the Pittsburgh Courier from N. Carolina, called the election victories there "the greatest upsurge of Negro voting strength in this state since Reconstruction times." The tobacco market center of Wilson "recorded the closest political race in history between a white and a Negro candidate" when Dr. G. K. Butterfield, a Negro dentist, tied with H. H. Harris, a white businessman, for city council. Each received 382 votes. The city ordinance requiring that a tie be broken by the drawing of lots was complied with when a three-year-old white child drew Butterfield's name from a hat.

JANITOR LICKS PROF: Nathaniel Barber, 42, secy.-treas. of a credit union, ran fourth among 14 to become the first Negro councilman in the textile center of Gastonia. Greensboro re-elected Dr. William M. Hampton, Negro, who led the field. Chapel Hill, seat of the U. of N. Carolina, picked Hubert Robinson, 60, a Negro janitor of that institution, over political science Prof. Paul Wager, white, for the Board of Aldermen.

The industrial center of Durham gave Negro candidate R. N. Harris, exec. secy. of the Bankers Fire Insurance Co., 4,203 votes to 3,701 for white candidate M. T. Mangum, a grocer. Both ran in Durham's predominantly Negro Third Ward.

Outside that ward some white men grumbled that the "Negro-labor bloc" was threatening white supremacy. What the grumbling pointed up was a decisive factor: especially in industrial areas such as Durham the victorious Negro candidates were supported by organized labor.

'Courage Is Contagious' —Guardian revue in L. A.

The GUARDIAN is presenting in Los Angeles nine performances of a new musical revue, "Courage Is Contagious." The cast includes top-flight entertainers who have been blacklisted in Hollywood.

The performances will be held Friday, Saturday and Sunday evenings during the first three weekends in June at Danish Auditorium, 1359 W. 24th Street, Los Angeles. Admission is $1 or a one-year subscription to the GUARDIAN. All proceeds go to the GUARDIAN.

Los Angeles readers are urged to organize theatre parties with their friends. For further information, write or call Tiba Willner, 949 Schumacher Drive, Los Angeles. WEbster 1-9478.

Mail this GUARDIAN to a friend—a 2c stamp and open-end wrapper does it.

Will these 4 die?

DEATH by gas poisoning in an air-tight chamber some time after midnight, May 28-29, was proclaimed by the State of North Carolina for Raleigh Speller, Clyde Brown, Lloyd Ray Daniels and Bennie Daniels.

Each of the alleged victims was white. Each of the convicting juries was lilywhite. Each of the condemned is Negro.

The U.S. Supreme Court recently doomed all four men by refusing to review their cases. At press-time the Daniels Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1601, Durham, N.C., and the Peoples Defense Committee, P.O. 2008, Winston-Salem, N.C., stated that these men might still be spared "the last mile" march to the gas chamber by urgent 11th-hour appeals to Gov. William B. Umstead, Raleigh, N.C.

CALENDAR

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THE PRESS GETS A BRAIN-WASHING

The home-coming of William Oatis

By Kumar Goshal

AN army of reporters and cameramen greeted **AP** correspondent William Oatis when he arrived at New York's Idlewild Airport May 18. He had been released after serving 25 months of a ten-year sentence in a Czech prison on charge of espionage to which he had confessed. Most of the reporters anticipated sensational disclosures of "brain-washing," "torture" and "drug injections" to which Oatis might have been subjected before his trial and in prison.

After a few minutes alone with his wife in the plane, Oatis faced his interrogators. He said that things he had done in Czechoslovakia were "certainly violation of the law." In Czechoslovakia, he pointed out,

> ". . . receiving economic, military and political information constitutes espionage . . . punishable by 3½ months to three years in prison . . . transmitting [this information] to a foreign government [is] punishable by ten years to hanging."

He said he had been well treated in prison, had received all his mail and been given medical treatment when necessary.

RETICENT REPORT: Oatis at first would not say if he had been employed by any U.S. State Dept. agency, but later denied any such employment. He also refused to say whether he had transmitted information to a foreign government, but admitted talking to U.S. Embassy officials about information received from Czech sources. He had no comment when asked if freedom of the press is dead in Czechoslovakia.

CZECH PRESIDENT ZAPOTOCKY
He ordered Oatis released

Most reporters were disappointed and bewildered by Oatis' replies. Asked if he had been doped, Oatis replied that he had been given pills that helped cure a mild attack of tuberculosis and injections of "sugar solutions and vitamins" to help him gain weight. He said: "I am convinced that I was not doped."

To persistent questions about whether he had done anything beyond his duties as a foreign correspondent, Oatis said he would let the "record speak for itself."

W-T'S FLOPEROO: Beyond a few dark hints of "psychological pressure," most newspapers were forced to play the story straight because of Oatis' unequivocal answers. The N. Y. **World-Telegram,** which had carried on a two-year campaign of denunciation of Prague because of the Oatis case, carried a full-page house-ad montage—obviously prepared in advance—of its continuing stories. It featured a drawing of Oatis leaving a prison cell and the legend "MISSION ACCOMPLISHED" was splashed across the page in big type. But on p. 1, the **World-Telegram** showed its chagrin over the collapse of its campaign with this headline on the Oatis story: "Shows Evidence of Brain-washing." Later it was changed to a more matter-of-fact: "Reporter Pale, Thin; Talks Guardedly Here."

Thus far Oatis has held to his refusal to tell horror tales.

BACK IN 1951: The GUARDIAN, in its story of Oatis' trial (7/11/51), reported that the indictment, based on questioning and documentary evidence, charged that Oatis had cooperated with the military attache of the U.S. Embassy, from whom he received directives and to whom he supplied material, mainly of a military character. It charged that this attache was the center for espionage by several Western nations. Oatis at the time denied some charges, but admitted transmitting Czech military and internal security information.

British Quaker barred: too much conscience

AT an Immigration Dept. hearing on Ellis Island May 21, British Peace Pledge Union leader and former clergyman Stuart Morris was told he would be excluded from the U.S. because he is a man who "places his conscience above the law." The examiner constantly accused him of "setting himself up as the judge of what is right." It was neither charged nor implied that he is or was a Communist.

Morris had arrived the previous week with a visa and work permit granted him at the U.S. Embassy in London, where he was interviewed by top officials including a special agent of the **FBI**. The Immigration Dept. declared these documents, issued after Morris had told the London U.S. officials exactly what he told the Ellis Island officials, as without validity. Morris was to have made a six-weeks lecture tour under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers).

The decision was to be appealed May 26 to the highest Immigration Dept. levels in Washington, but there is little likelihood that it would be reversed. Morris is expected to take his un-American conscience—and his story of cold-war America's welcome to peacemakers from any part of the world—back where he came from next week.

Thousands of Americans who would have been his lecture audience will be told that their government does not permit them to listen to the noted British lecturer's arguments for peace.

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- Ned Young

Added Original Music by Sol Kaplan

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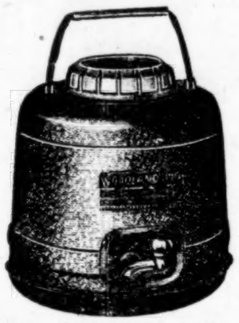

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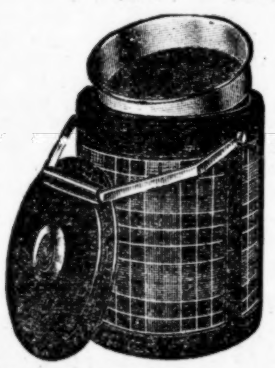

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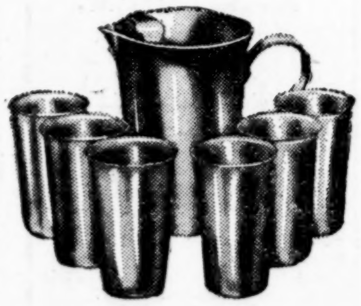

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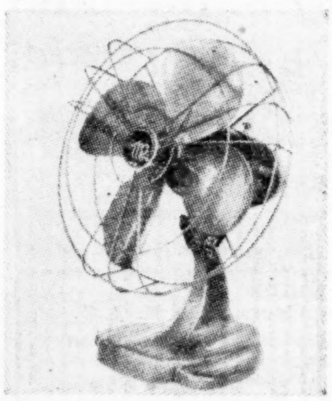

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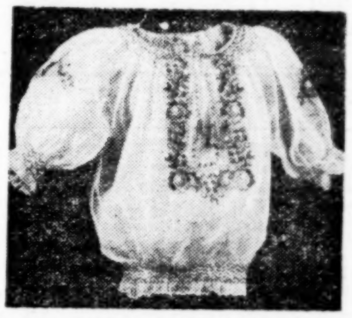

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4	.19	.25	.28	.34	.42	.51	.60	.69
5	.20	.27	.31	.38	.48	.60	.71	.83
6	.22	.29	.35	.43	.55	.70	.83	.97
7	.23	.32	.38	.48	.62	.79	.94	1.11
8	.24	.34	.42	.53	.69	.88	1.06	1.25
9	.25	.37	.45	.57	.75	.97	1.17	1.39
10	.27	.39	.49	.62	.82	1.07	1.29	1.53
11	.28	.41	.52	.67	.89	1.16	1.40	1.67
12	.29	.44	.56	.72	.96	1.25	1.52	1.81
13	.30	.46	.59	.76	1.02	1.34	1.63	1.95
14	.32	.49	.63	.81	1.09	1.44	1.75	2.09
15	.33	.51	.66	.86	1.16	1.53	1.86	2.23
16	.34	.53	.70	.91	1.23	1.62	1.98	2.37
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